JEWISH CRITICS OF ZIONISM

A TESTAMENTARY ESSAY

EARLY JEWISH CRITICS OF ZIONISM

> What I felt sixty years ago when I joined the Zionist movement is essentially what I feel today. I have joined this national movement because it was not called 'Jewish' nationalism but Zionism . . . I believed that this nationalism would not go the way of all others – beginning with a great hope and then deteriorating, decaying, becoming a collective egoism, even daring, like Mussolini, to call itself a *sacro egoismo* as if collective egoism could be more sacred than the egoism of any individual . . . When we returned to Palestine, the decisive question was, do we want to come there as an ally, as a friend, as a brother, as a member of the coming community of the peoples of the Near East, or as the representative of colonialism and imperialism? The majority of the Jewish people preferred to learn from Hitler rather than from us . . . Hitler showed that history does not go the way of the spirit but the way of power, and if a people is powerful enough, it can kill with impunity . . . This is the situation that we had to fight . . .[2]

Early in my life – a Jewish critic of Zionism

Let me say it outright – I am a Jewish critic of Zionism (rabid, aggressive, secular "Jewish" political Zionism) and were it possible to say that I am an extreme Jewish critic of Zionism, I would unhesitatingly say so, except that I believe that in moral issues a critic of immorality cannot be a fence sitter or a compromiser. He must call a spade a spade. For when a Jewish critic of Zionism gives an account of conquests, occupations, murder, napalming, exiling, dispossession of the subjugated innocent Arab population, or of torturing suspected Resistance Fighters (terrorists, the Zionists call them), or of dynamiting Arab homes and villages, no honest observer can call it dramatizing, rhetoric, self-hating, anti-Semitic, Jewish disloyalty. On the contrary, the moral imperative – call it the prophetic Judaism of the Jew – demands the exposing of the immoral and inhuman deeds practiced in the manifestation of the decadence (degeneration) of Judaism in our time by misled Jews.

I became a Jewish critic of Zionism when I was a young student at the Zionist Hebrew Gymnasia Herzlia in Jaffa-Tel Aviv, Palestine, during the years 1908-1913. After having been brought up in my grandfather's home in Jerusalem on universal, ethical, humane, prophetic Judaism (he was a sincere, honest, genuine traditional orthodox, scholarly Jew), I could

[2] Professor Martin Buber, from an address delivered in New York, in 1958. See the *Jewish Newsletter*, June 2, 1958

not stomach the daily preachings of *Amaynooh, Artzaynooh, Moladtaynooh,* (our nation, our country, our birthplace) by our hyper-nationalistic, *goyim*-hating, Zionist Hebrew teachers. Not one of the students at the Gymnasia Herzlia was born in Arab Palestine; we all came to Palestine from Russia, Poland, Rumania, Galicia, etc. as refugees or immigrants. The hatred and contempt for *goyim* (gentiles) – Arabs in our case – was irrational and inhuman. My teachers did not succeed in inculcating in my heart their spirit of "Jewish" nationalism. It could not be Jewish, as far as I was concerned. All the other students became fervent "Jewish" nationalists. In 1913, when I graduated from the Gymnasia Herzlia, I was the only one to immigrate to the United States because I wanted to support myself and be independent. I refused to accept any scholarship offered me by the Gymnasia to go to study where they could supervise my doings.

After the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the year I graduated from New York University, I became more disenchanted with practical "Jewish" nationalism as it was manifested in the bureaus of the Zionist Organization of America and all over the world. As I grew into manhood and became a world traveller with my son Yehudi, and could thus watch the tragedy of mankind after World War I as a result of insane political nationalism, I became a more intense critic of Zionism. When time permitted, I plunged into a research study of Judaism and decided to write *The Decadence of Judaism In Our Time*.

Today, at the age of 80, I must confess that to me the question of the decadence, the degeneration, of Judaism and of the majority of the Jews of our time, transcends all other international problems. Zionism as it is manifested in the national-socialist expansionist ambitions of a Greater *Eretz* Israel empire under the excuse of "secure boundaries" has become unwittingly the most dangerous world issue between the United States and the Soviet Union, as a result of Zionist machinations in the United States – their propaganda, their hold on the Jewish voters and more importantly, on Jewish contributions to political campaigns. The Zionist Jews must have their "lollipop," their "Jewish" national homeland, which as a result of easy military victories has escalated into an ambition of a Greater *Eretz* Israel empire, in accordance with the seventy-five year old grand design of Dr. Herzl – and if not the nationalistic "lollipop" then an apocalyptic, catastrophic "Armageddon," in the spirit of a blind Samson who pulls down the house.

I am a man possessed by this monstrous Jewish problem: how long can the arrogant, greedy and anachronistic nationalistic children of the

3000 year-old civilization of prophetic Judaism continue to be misled into worshipping their nationalistic Moloch, so late in history, after national – socialism in Germany has learned the hard way, indeed, that depraved and predatory political nationalism does not pay in the end. In fact, all of the Western political nationalist-colonialists and imperialists of England, France, Spain, Italy, Holland etc., . . . have learned the hard way and have paid dearly for the insane religion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its sacrificial offerings of the youth of each country. The Germans, as late-comers, have repented; so did the Britishers and Frenchmen who, as late as 1956, tried to re-establish imperialism in Egypt, in collusion with Ben Gurion's Zionist expansionist Israel. May the Jewish critics of Zionism redeem the name of Judaism and of the Jews, and together with the current awakening of our post-World Wars new world order bring about an internal combustion inside Jewish life in Israel and in the "Diaspora", particularly among the young generation, so as to bring the Jewish people back to morality, humanity, justice, and above all to genuine, sincere repentance. Zionist Israel must be made to withdraw completely from its newly conquered territories in 1967; it must repent and make amends, and try hard to live in peace with its one hundred million Arab neighbors, and live inside its United Nations allotted nation-state – a small nationalistic "lollipop", rashly donated to the Jewish immigrants in 1947-1948 at the expense of the Arabs. One of the high points in the teaching of prophetic Judaism is: "In the place where the repentant man stands, even the completely righteous man cannot stand." (The Talmud)

The Prophets Were the First Jewish Critics of Zionism

From the very beginning of Jewish history there have been conflicts between the leaders of "Jewish" political nationalism and the Jewish critics of "Jewish" political nationalism (Zionism). Prophetic Judaism was pre-eminent among, and peculiar to the ancient Hebrews, and the traditions of prophetic Judaism came down through the ages, constantly evolving and being applied to the difficult and tragic life of a people summoned to be humane, ethical, and just under all circumstances.

Let me quote the prince of all Hebrew writers and philosophers of modern times, the father of the now moribund Spiritual Zionism, Ahad Ha'am. In his essay "Priest and Prophet" (1893), he put it this way:

> Other nations have at various times had their prophets, men whose life was the life of an embodied idea . . . But it is pre-eminently among the ancient Hebrews that prophecy is found, not as an accidental or temporary phenomenon, but continuously through many generations. Prophecy is, as it were, the hall mark of the Hebrew national spirit; the fundamental idea of the Hebrew national spirit. The fundamental idea of the Hebrew prophets was the universal dominion of absolute justice . . . This idea, with all of its religious and moral corollaries, was the breath of life to the Hebrew prophets. It was their all in all, beyond which there was nothing of any importance. Righteousness for them is beauty, it is goodness, wisdom, truth. Without it, all these are naught . . . These prophets of righteousness transcended in spirit political and national boundaries, and preached the gospel of justice and charity for the whole human race. Yet they remained true to their people Israel: they too saw in it the "Chosen People" and from their devotion to the universal ideal, had its effect on their national feeling. Their nationalism became a kind of corollary to their fundamental idea.

All through the history of the ancient Jewish nation-state, the prophets dogged their people constantly every time they reverted to savagery and immorality – to depraved and predatory acts "like the other nations"; every time the kings, priests, or other public servants (the professional idealists) pursued their collective or personal *sacro egoismo* – to use Professor Buber's expression – they brought down upon themselves the wrath and damnation of the prophets: *Hear this I pray you, you heads of the House of Jacob and rulers of the House of Israel, that abhor justice, and pervert all equity: that built up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity . . . Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps* . . . (Micah). And while the prophets loved their people and hoped that in time with God's help, they would get used to wearing the yoke of morality, they never failed to remind the Jewish people that God is universal, the Father of all humanity, and that the Jews were: *As the children of Ethiopia unto me* . . . (Amos)

There is no question that the late, mature prophets were Jewish critics of Zionism. But one could, and I do, accept Ahad Ha'am's judgement that Moses was "the prince of the prophets",[3] and therefore one could say that Moses was the first Jewish critic of Zionism. Here, however, I would have to divert the attention of the reader into Biblical

[3] See his wonderful essay on Moses (1904) in Hebrew or in English translation.

exegesis and dwell at great length on the historical fact that the *Torah*, *Megiloth, Nitnah*[4] (the Torah came down in the form of parchments, scrolls) some of which were hundreds of years apart, many of them contradictory and repetitious – the barbarous elements were often attached to and even identified with the noblest teachings; the predatory "Jewish" nationalistic ones were covered up, sanctified and labelled with the same presentation: "The Lord spoke to Moses", or "So Moses at the Lord's bidding instructed the Israelites, saying . . ."

Let us remember that priests and military leaders have quoted and used the *Torah*, as Ben Gurion has been quoting and using the Bible, or as the devil does. Anyhow, the Moses we admire and adore surely gave the Jewish people, and thus to humanity, the Ten Commandments: "You shall not murder . . . You shall not steal . . . You shall not covet . . . There shall be one law for the citizen and for the stranger that dwells among you . . . Justice, justice, you shall pursue . . . You shall not respect the strong . . . You shall not wrong the stranger . . ." This is prophetic Judaism and it is equivalent to the preachings of a Jewish critic of Zionism – secular, "Jewish" nationalism – decrying being "like the other nations" – depraved and predatory.

The Eighteen Hundred Years of No "Jewish" Political Nationalism and No Jewish Critics of Zionism

Please recall Menachem Begin's dormant eighteen hundred years that passed in Jewish history before "the new specimen of fighting Jew" was reborn – *a specimen completely unknown to the world for over eighteen hundred years.* After the fall and destruction of Jerusalem 70 C.E., and of the last fortified town of Betar (132-135), Jewish political nationalism died a natural death. The way of the spirit was entered upon by the children of Moses, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Micah, and Jeremiah – Rabbi Johanan Ben Zakkai opened the school of Jewish studies in Yavneh, with the permission of the Roman general Vespasian, and Yavneh took the place of Betar in the hearts and minds of the scattered Jews all over the world. The rabbi, the Yeshivah (school of Jewish Talmudic studies) and the synagogue became the center and content of spiritual life of the Jew

[4] The *Torah* (the five books of Moses) came down the ages in the form of small "megiloth" (scrolls)

during the eighteen hundred years – until the nineteenth century. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit," was the philosophy of life.

During the long Talmudic era presided over by the nonprofessional rabbis (great scholars who, on principle, supported themselves as wood-choppers, blacksmiths, tailors, tanners, watercarriers . . .), and later in the ghettos of Europe in the long dark ages of medieval, uncivilized Christian Europe, the Jews constantly hoped and prayed for one thing: the realization of the prophetic ideals in the entire world. That was the essence of evolved Judaism-Jewishness. The Church-State ruled and exploited poor humanity, Gentiles no less than Jews, by "divine right". It was encrusted with corruption and immorality. Not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did the period of humane nationalism arise in the context of the age of enlightenment, liberalism and tolerance.

Nationalism, at that time, was a movement for the assertion of individual liberty and the freeing of the mind from the shackles of traditional authority, for an open society in contact with similar open societies. In its beginning, nationalism was a deeply humanitarian movement; it was unthinkable that "Fatherlands" could war against each other. After 1848, nationalism became an instrument in the hands of rulers, generals and adventurers of the nation-states and "graduated" into political nationalism – depraved, predatory, fratricidal political nationalism. To return to our thesis: until the nineteenth century there was no "Jewish" political nationalism (Zionism) because there were no such rabid ideals as general political nationalism, and therefore there was no such thing as a Jewish critic of Zionism.

The Age of Universal Selfishness: Europe's Nineteenth Century Rabid Political Nationalism Gives Birth to Tragic Insane "Jewish" Political Nationalism (Zionism)

The cruel and immoral age of insane political nationalism in Europe as it was manifested in the fratricidal wars inside Europe and in the colonial-imperial conquests overseas by England, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium and then the newcomer Prussianized Germany, can be best understood by reading a few examples of brazen and shameless declarations of the German political nationalists, newcomers, who expressed the general philosophy of expansionist political nationalism of all the bloody empire builders of Europe: "We teach that if the welfare of our Fatherland should require conquest, subjugation, dispossession, extermi-

nation of foreign nations, we must not be deterred by Christian or humanitarian qualms ... It is necessary that our (national) civilization build its temple on a mountain of corpses, on an ocean of tears, and on the death cries of men without number ..."[5]

"Despite all attempts to outlaw it, war is still a law of nature which may be challenged but not eliminated, it serves the survival of the race and state, or the assurance of its historical future. This high moral purpose gives war its total character and its ethical justification."[6]

Hitler put it more simply and brutally: "Close your hearts to pity. Act brutally. The stronger man is right ..." *Lebensraum* was the core of the colonialist-imperialist's "religion", and Hitler, the latecomer, simply asked his people to do what all others did, only slightly less brutally, all over the world. The war of the Nazis which devastated and impoverished the whole world finally opened the eyes of poor misled humanity about the insanity, absurdity, inhumanity and emptiness of content of the religion of political nationalism. A new world order, a new Europe, a more humane and fraternal world is now gradually, though painfully, being born out of the crucible of a century of internecine nationalistic blood baths. People are now beginning to demand integrated sovereignties, supra-national political as well as economic unions, in order to improve the lot of the individual and the citizens of the world, in accordance with the Judeo-Christian ethical standards, all of which have evolved from prophetic Judaism.

Alas, the "Jewish" political nationalists (the Zionists) have swallowed the whole hog of the prevailing secular nationalism of their nineteenth century persecutors, and, like them, have become inspired and obsessed by the "sacred egoism" of a grasping, expanding, conquering political nationalism. Although today, in our post-World War era, the whole world now repudiates the old world order, Zionism will not budge from its old, anachronistic grand designs, and will not disavow, disown, and repudiate the old insane "Jewish" political, national program of creating from a land that belongs to the indigenous Arab population of Palestine a "Jewish" nation-state, ingathering into it the Jews of the world and thus creating a Greater *Eretz* Israel empire.

[5] See T.H. Tetens. *The New Germany and the Old Nazis*

[6] See about the German High Command in Tristram Coffin's *The Passion of the Hawks*

The Greatest Jewish Critic of Zionism, Ahad Ha'am, Father of Spiritual Zionism, Confronts Theodor Herzl, Father of Political Zionism at the Very First World Zionist Congress (1897)

The word Zionism once had quite a different meaning than political Zionism, just as nationalism once had quite a different and contrary meaning than political nationalism. There were the "Chovevch Zion" (Lovers of Zion) several decades before Dr. Theodor Herzl appeared on the scene. Rabbi Kalisher was the leader of this spiritual movement. At the same time there emerged the great and noble Hebrew writer and philosopher, Ahad Ha'am. His Zionism was spiritual Zionism and the goal of this movement was to regenerate the ghetto Jew from his degraded status as a *luftmensch* through the creating of a spiritual center in old Palestine where the Jew should learn to till the soil, work, regain his self-respect and dignity, and thus establish a new Jewish life based on prophetic Judaism. This center would in turn exert a spiritual influence on the Jews in the ghettos and elsewhere.

Political Zionism officially dates back to 1897 when Dr. Theodor Herzl, an Austro-Hungarian journalist, assembled the First World Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland and declared: "We are here today to lay the foundation stone of the house which is to shelter the Jewish nation ... Zionism seeks to secure for the Jewish nation a publicly recognized, legally secure home (or homeland) in Palestine."

Soon after the First Zionist Congress, Herzl's adviser, David Trietsch, told him:

> I would suggest to you to come around in time to the "Greater Palestine' program before it is too late. Otherwise it is nonsense. You do not get ten million Jews into a land of 25,000 kilometers.

Another adviser, the erratic mystic, guide and teacher of Herzl, the Reverend Hechler,

> ... unfolded his Palestine map and instructed (me) ... by the hour. The northern frontier is to be the mountains facing Cappadocia (Asia Minor): the southern, the Suez Canal. Our slogan shall be 'The Palestine of David and Solomon.'

When Herzl's colleague Professor Max Nordau heard for the first time that there was an Arab population in Palestine, he ran to Herzl crying: "I did not know that; but then, we are committing an injustice!"

Herzl gave him the silent treatment.

Herzl tried to negotiate with the British Colonial Minister Chamberlain about securing a Jewish settlement in Cyprus, "from which the Jew might then take Palestine by force 'as it was taken from us' . . ." Chamberlain replied: "Cyprus is inhabited by Greeks and Moslems whom we could not evict for the sake of newcomers. If the Greeks were to resist a Jewish immigration, the difficulties would be insuperable".

Herzl further records in his "Diaries": "Not everyting in politics is disclosed to the public but only results. I then unfolded my plan . . . five million pounds; the Greeks would gladly sell their lands at a good price and migrate to Athens or Crete." He then asked the King of Italy for Tripoli, as he asked Chamberlain for Cyprus, to which the young king replied: *Ma e encora casa di altri!* (But it is still someone else's home!)

Here is another precious quote from Herzl's "Diaries": "Noise is everything! In truth noise amounts to a great deal. A sustained noise is in itself a noteworthy fact. World history is nothing but noise: noise of arms and of advancing ideas. Men must put noise to use . . ."

Before he died in 1904, he entered the following in his "Diaries": "I believe that I shall be named among the great benefactors of mankind, or is this feeling of mine the beginning of delusions of grandeur?" Herzl was a megalomaniac suffering also from paranoia. To the Zionists he is, of course, the father of Zionist Israel.

Before continuing with the followers of Herzl, I must stop here to quote again the great Jewish critic of Zionism and of Dr. Herzl, Ahad Ha'am, who attended the first Zionist Congress, but never again would attend any other Zionist Congress during the lifetime of Dr. Herzl. Immediately after the first Zionist Congress, Ahad Ha'am lashed out at political Zionism with the following admonition:

> In Basel, yesterday, I sat lonely among my brothers, like a mourner at a wedding . . . This new enthusiasm is an artificial one, and the results of treacherous hopes will be despair . . . The salvation of Israel (the Jewish people) will come through prophets and not through diplomats . . . One thing is clear to me: We have destroyed much more than we have built up. Who knows whether this was not the last sign of a dying people. I cannot get this out of my head . . . There is only one objective which we can actually approach, and that is the moral objective, our self-liberation from inner slavery . . .

Years later, after Ahad Ha'am settled in Palestine and saw the

bloody results of the pursuit of political Zionism, he addressed two open letters of protest to *Haaretz*, one of the Hebrew dailies in Palestine, parts of which read:

> Jews and blood! Are there any greater contradictions than these? . . . What have we saved from our destruction if not the teachings of our prophets which we took along with us on the long road of our exile to enlighten our dark life? Our blood was shed in all corners of the world during thousands of years, but we shed no one's blood . . . Thus lived our people from one generation to another, lived among nations who lived on their swords and who normally shed the blood of their fellow men. Our people wanted no part of this barbarous life . . . What shall we say now if this is really true (about murdering innocent Arabs in vengeance)? My God, is this the end? Is this the goal for which our fathers have striven and for whose sake all generations have suffered? Is this the dream of a 'return to Zion' to stain its soil with innocent blood? . . . And now God has afflicted me to have lived to see with my own eyes that I apparently erred . . . If this be the 'Messiah' then I do not wish to see His coming . . .

Let us first meet the outstanding leaders of political Zionism and then meet the outstanding Jewish critics of Zionism. After Ahad Ha'am left the Zionist Congress, particularly after the Balfour Declaration (1917), there was never any common ground where Zionists and Jewish critics of Zionism could meet and exchange thoughts. The Zionist machine defames, denigrates, smears anyone who dares criticize the doings of Zionists in Zionist Israel and abroad; but the truly honest Jewish critics of Zionism carry on a full scale frontal attack, with no holds barred, on the injustices and hypocrisies of political Zionism. Their number, alas, is tragically small today. The Jewish people are mostly either inter-marrying and assimilating out of an inner disgust and revolt against the nationalization of the Jews, or they are subverted and brainwashed, and support the dreadful cause of "Jewish" nationalism. The issue is the life and death of true Jewishness – prophetic Judaism.

POLITICAL ZIONISTS

Meet the Political Zionist, Theorist-Ideologist Jacob Klatzkin

Dr. Jacob Klatzkin was a bosom friend and collaborator of Dr. Nahum Goldmann. So if you want to know the true Nahum Goldmann, hear what Klatzkin had to declare about "Jewish" nationalism – Zionism.

Klatzkin mixed with top-level Zionists, and provided a philosophical underpinning for them. Here is the essence of his book, in German, *Krisis und Entscheidung* (Crisis and Decision), published in 1921, long before there was a Nazi movement in Germany:

> We are not hyphenated Jews, we are Jews with no qualifications or reservations. We are simply aliens: we are a foreign people in your midst, and we emphasize, we wish to stay that way ... Whosoever calls the foreign land a Fatherland is a traitor to the Jewish people ... We recognize a national unity of diaspora Jews, no matter in which land they may reside ... (We are) a nation within a nation; a state within a state ...

Meet the "Father" and Creator of the Zionist National-Socialist Israel Nation-State, David Ben-Gurion

Books have been written by Ben Gurion and about Ben Gurion. I shall give here just a few of his "gems", and make a few remarks.

From 1939 to 1948, Ben Gurion was Chairman of the Zionist State Executive of the Jewish Agency. After proclaiming the State of Israel in May 1948, he became Prime Minister as well as Defense Minister and held on to this dual job until recent years. To his dying day, he talked from both sides of his mouth. He was responsible for the conquest of Arab Palestine, and for the policies of subjugation, oppression and dispossession. He always suffered from Arab phobia, and refused to learn to speak Arabic. At the Hotel Biltmore Conference in New York (May 6-11, 1942), where the leading Zionists of Europe and America met (in the midst of World War II), Ben Gurion exhorted and inspired the gathering to produce the Biltmore program, the chief demands of which were: that the gates of Palestine be opened for mass immigration; and that the Jewish Agency act as the unofficial government of the coming "Jewish" (Zionist) State.

Richard Grossman in his "Washington Diary" for 1946, said: "The Zionists are terrific ... Their main preoccupation is not to save Jews alive out of Europe but to get Jews into Palestine." And that is what Ben Gurion managed by hook or by crook. .

The wars with the resisting Arab Governments soon came. Ben Gurion was using the Bible to justify bloodshed amid masked aggression and expansion. As an example, in the colonialist war against Egypt, in 1956, in collusion with Great Britain and France, the newspapers of the world were carrying the reports of Ben Gurion's jubilation after the conquests of

Sinai, Tiran, etc... "Tiran was liberated yesterday by the Israeli Army ... Israel terms the Gaza Strip an integral part of the nation ... No force whatsoever is going to make Israel evacuate Sinai ... and the words of Isaiah the Prophet were fulfilled."

Let us cite one more sample of Ben Gurion's inhuman and shamelessly Nazistic gems: "Israel is the country of the Jews and only of the Jews. Every Arab who lives here has the same rights (sic) as any minority citizen in any country of the world, but he must admit the fact that he lives in a Jewish country."[7]

Meet Menachem Begin: Leader of the "Irgun Z'vai Leumi" Terrorists, Now Member of the Israeli Cabinet and the Knesset

In the very beginning of this essay, I let Menachem Begin speak for political Zionism because he is overt and honest with himself, unlike Ben Gurion and the others who cloak their evil deeds with hypocritical quotations from the Bible. "We fight therefore we are ... out of blood fire ..." *Here* are a few plainspoken words by the "new specimen of fighting Jew": "There is no such thing as 'illegal' immigration of Jews into Palestine. It cannot be illegal for a Jew to go to his own home ... I deeply believe in launching a preventive war against the Arab states without further hesitation. By doing so we will achieve two targets: firstly, the annihilation of Arab power; and secondly, the extension of our territory ..."[8]

Immediately after the massacre of Deir Yassin by Menachem Begin's terrorist army, he described its purpose: "Panic overwhelmed the Arabs of *Eretz* Israel. In the rest of the country, Arabs began to flee in terror .. All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance ... like a knife through butter. The Arabs began to flee in panic shouting: 'Deir Yassin' ..."

Meet Moshe Shertock (Sharett): At a Conference with Count Bernadotte in 1948

Moshe Shertock was a classmate and benchmate of mine for five years (1909-1913) at the rabidly nationalistic-xenophobic Hebrew Gymnasia Herzlia in Jaffa - Tel Aviv. He swallowed the endless teaching;

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[7] From I.F. Stone, *For a New Approach to the Israeli-Arab Conflict, New York Review of Books*, August 3, 1967

[8] *New York Times*, April 26, 1956

and preachings about *artzaynooh, amaynooh, moladtaynooh* (our country, our nation, our birthplace). In 1948 he served under Prime Minister Ben Gurion as Foreign Minister of the State of Israel. When Ben Gurion proclaimed Israel a State on May 14, 1948, Count Bernadotte was appointed by the United Nations as mediator in Palestine. On his arrival in Palestine he was shocked to see tens of thousands of Arab families fleeing from their homes in search of food, shelter and safety. He held long conferences with the heads of the Arab governments in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan; they assured him that they would now agree to recognize the State of Israel provided it did not expand its boundaries. A lengthy conference with Moshe Shertock followed, at the end of which came the following shocking declaration: "Shertock agreed that I had been right in that the three alternatives I had suggested for the Arab part of Palestine doubtless exhausted the possibilities. (But) he hinted that there might possibly be a fourth alternative, namely that the whole of Palestine should belong to Israel . . ." (Read the fascinating account of these futile mediations in Count Bernadotte's "To Jerusalem")

Before Count Bernadotte was assassinated by members of the "Irgun" terrorists who were part of the Israeli Army, he sent a long report to the United Nations General Assembly, parts of which read:

> The Jewish State was not born in peace as was hoped for in the (partition) resolution of the 29th of November, 1947, but rather . . . in violence and bloodshed . . . It is, however, undeniable that no settlement can be just and complete if recognition is not accorded to the rights of the Arab refugee to return to the home from which he has been dislodged by hazards . . . of the armed conflict . . . It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries . . .

A Few of the Leading Fuhrers of Zionist Israel

I will allow only a few words to such GREATS as Moshe Dayan, General Ezer Weizmann, Golda Meir, Abba Eban, the two Chief Rabbis of Israel, Nahum Goldmann, and one sample of the leaders of the Greater *Eretz* Israel movement in Zionist Israel, Zvi Shiloach, in his Hebrew book *A Great Land for a Great Nation*.

Moshe Dayan. "It lies upon the people's shoulder to prepare for war,[9] but it lies upon the Israeli army to carry out the fight with the ultimate object of erecting the Israeli empire . . ." . . ."our fathers made the borders of '47; we made the borders of '49; you made the borders of '67; another generation will take our frontiers to where they belong."[10]

General Ezer Weizmann. The former Air Force General put it in a nutshell: "What you (reporters) call the occupied territories, I call Israel!"

Golda Meir. "It was not as though there was a Palestine people in Palestine and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." Here is another one, even more shameless and heartless . . ."There is something else that is absolutely immoral, because it never happened before in human history – the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force . . . How many around the table of the Security Council can really stand up and swear they have never done it . . . never held any other territory?" Golda Meir is perfectly at home in the atmosphere of the pre-World Wars, in the old world order . . .

Abba Eban. The Foreign Minister of Golda Meir, former Ambassador to the United States as well as to the United Nations – pontificating, cloven-footed Abba Eban who decries the policy of the Arabs as "lacking a sense of altruism," and who reassured President Eisenhower and the American people the day before the invasion of Egypt on October 29, 1956 (a war planned to the most minute detail, months ahead of time, in concert with Great Britain and France) that "Israel will start no war." In addressing the notorious Anti-Defamation League, Abba Eban warned that in the conditions imposed by the United Nations on Great Britain, France and Israel, following their attack on Egypt, he saw "a missed moment in history."[11]

The following historical declaration of President Eisenhower made around the same time Abba Eban made the above Nazistic statement, should be recalled. Said Eisenhower to the American people:

> Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations' disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its withdrawal? There can be no peace without law if we are to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us, and another for our friends . . . We judge no man

[9] First Sinai-Suez war of collusion with Great Britain and France in 1956

[10] From a statement broadcast on the Arabic program, Israel Radio

[11] From the *New York Times*, November 25, 1956

> by his name or inheritance, but by what he does and for what he stands, and so likewise we judge other nations . . . Israel insists on firm guarantees as a condition for withdrawing its forces of invasion . . . if we agree that armed attack can properly achieve the purpose of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order. We will have countenanced the use of force as a means of settling international differences and gaining national advantages . . . If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the organization and our best hope for establishing a real (new) world order . . ."[12]

Rabbi Nissim "It is forbidden by the *Torah* for all Jews, including the Israeli government, to return even one inch of the territory of *Eretz* Israel now in our hands."

Rabbi Untermann. Chief Rabbi Untermann on October 6, 1970, wished the Jewish settlers in the upper Jordan valley that by the following year the border be moved east to include Gilead (east of Jordan territory), and he added: "Anyhow, we have not yet finished to conquer what is our own and what was promised to our fathers . . ."

Dr. Nahum Goldmann. Dr. Goldmann collected more money, billions of dollars, travelled more around the world in his propaganda campaigns for Zionism, headed more Jewish organizations all at the same time – World Zionist Organization, World Jewish Congress, World Conference of Jewish Organizations, World Conference on Jewish Education, Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, and the Jewish Agency Executive – than any other Zionist leader! For years he collaborated with Dr. Jacob Klatzkin. In my book, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*, many pages were dedicated to this smart professional idealist, professional Jew.

Let me say this: Goldman never repented for having helped finance the conquering Israeli army, the vast immigration of subverted Jews to Arab Palestine, and the extensive apparatus of propaganda in order to win the world's sympathy for the conquests, expansions, uprooting of hundreds of thousands of innocent Arabs. By 1970, he probably began to see an eventual defeat of the Zionist-Israeli armies and wanted to meet Nasser in Egypt to discuss a negotiated peace. He even asked that the United Nations together with the Arab governments, neutralize Israel and guarantee its existence.

[12] TV and Radio, *Report to the Nation* on October 31, 1956, and carried by all newspapers on November 1

Naturally, the intoxicated junta in Israel despises him now and he has been thrown out of practically all Zionist organizations which he had once presided over. But, in truth, he is still the impenitent Zionist leader – who can agree with Ben Gurion that all the Jews who live in the Diaspora (outside of Israel) are in exile, and will eventually have to be redeemed in Israel; and who laments that "the disappearance of anti-Semitism in its classical meaning, while beneficial to the political and material situation of Jewish communities, has had a very negative effect on our eternal life," (bad for Zionist business.) In short, Goldmann is a hopelessly dyed-in-the-wool political Zionist.

Zvi Shiloach.[13] Lately I have been reading Shiloach's Hebrew book, published in August, 1970, and already sold out in several editions, with shock, incredulity, and a broken heart. The tens of thousands of Israelis who support the "Movement for Undivided Land of Israel," or "The Land of Israel on Both sides of the Jordan," heartily agree with Zvi Shiloach that the Israeli army should conquer Baghdad and Kuwait, thus making room for the majority of the Jews of the world to "settle in their own Jewish homeland. . ." The book was favorably reviewed in the Israeli Press.

Here are a few lines from this worshipper of *Lebensraum*, "Jewish" National Socialism:

> In the two thousand years we have been removed from our homeland, it was the Jewish religion which preserved Jewish existence. In the 19th century that foundation was shaken, and Jewish nationalism took the place of religion; enlightened nationalism . . . The six day war has aroused the slumbering forces of the Jewish people . . . In its wake the people rediscovered its land. A renewed covenant between the people of Israel and the land of Israel can again become a source of enthusiasm, inspiration and devotion to the high ideals of Zionism.
>
> The revival of the Jewish nation has now gained sufficient strength so that this state deserves to be an equal partner with equal rights in the Middle East. We Jews had returned to the source of our birth, the East, the land which is between the Big Sea and Persia . . . This is the radical change which has taken place since the Six-Day War: The Fertile Crescent, with the big Desert in the midst of it, is the arena of which the land of Israel owes it to itself to become an integral part. Under true peaceful conditions, between Israel and the Arabs, there should be a division across the width of the Fertile Crescent – the northern part of federation between Israel, Jordan and Kuwait. The last

[13] Israeli labor leader and author of a popular book in Hebrew *A Great Land For A Great Nation*

> three countries will count five million citizens. At present the Jews would be half the population, numerically speaking. But from the point of view of scientific, technological and military potential, the power of the Jews is much greater than the others put together, and it is going to grow with the *kibutz goliyuth* (the return of all Jews from the Diaspora) . . . True peace will oblige the Southern Federation, at the head of which will stand Israel, to keep the whole territory open for more and more Jewish settlers, so that the Federation can become the United States of the Middle East.
>
> The road to peace is long, but one thing must be borne in mind: the real peace must be based on the boundaries that were created by the Six-Day War that are the least boundaries for the time being . . . We must therefore assume that a true peace can only be signed in Baghdad. This peace will put an end to the myth of the existence of one united Arab nation whose country extends from Gibraltar to the Persian Gulf.

The philosophy and arguments of this extreme political nationalist is typical of the old classical Geopolitical philosophy of National-Socialist (Nazi) Germany. The book is full of this sort of thinking and preaching.

The question that arises as one reads this sort of Hebrew-Israeli racist-chauvinist book is: how low can a once spiritual, compassionate, God-fearing people fall? Another question: What have I, a Jew who believes in prophetic Judaism, in common with these insane "Jewish" nationalists? Another question: when I read of the recent ravings of Socialist Harold Wilson about the "genuine commitment to Socialism by Golda Meir and Israeli leaders", I asked: Would National Socialist Adolph Hitler be welcome to take part in an international Socialist Congress?

JEWISH CRITICS OF ZIONISM

The first Jewish critic of Zionism I met as a child of eleven, and lived with for four years (1904-1909) in old Orthodox Jerusalem was my revered, scholarly, sincere, honest Orthodox grandfather, Yehuda Laib Mnuchin (the original name for Menuhin).

Yehuda Laib Mnuchin. When Dr. Herzl died, in 1904, Jews everywhere talked about him and his political Zionism. Many, particularly the scholarly orthodox Jews, regarded him as a charlatan. Like Ahad Ha'am who was not an orthodox Jew, but a great Hebrew scholar and philosopher who commanded respect from all Jews, orthodox Jews believed in prophetic Judaism – in prophets and not in politicians.

I was brought to Jerusalem as a refugee from Russia in 1904 to live with and to be brought up by my revered grandfather Yehuda Laib Mnuchin. I loved and adored my good, humane, old grandfather. He was a great Hebrew scholar and a fine public speaker. He used to take me along to all public gatherings which he addressed. One evening, my grandfather brought me to a wedding to which he contributed the dowry of the poor bride. At the feast, Reb. Laibeleh Mnuchin – the public adored him – was asked to address the gathering. The topic he chose was Dr. Herzl. He began (in Yiddish, with a lot of Hebrew metaphors mixed in):

> I shall tell you a parable, and you please find in it my answer about that charlatan Theodor Herzl . . . The Czar of Russia was curious to meet and talk to a representative fine Jew. So he instructed his Minister of Interior Affairs to invite an outstanding rabbi, a 'good Jew' – *ein gooter Yid* – to come to St. Petersburg, the capital, to the Palace, on a certain day and hour. As the Minister's emissaries were searching for the right man, they came across one small town where they were persuaded that the local rabbi was the right man to go to St. Petersburg . . . The rabbi and his courtiers held a special meeting, and agreed that because it was so important that the rabbi make a good impression on His Majesty, the Czar of all Russia, surely God Almighty would sanction that the rabbi's long beard and earlocks be shaved, and his long kaftan replaced by a modern business suit with a white collar and tie, and the rabbi's strimel (fur-edged oriental headgear) be replaced by a real homburg. The rabbi was also advised to learn to speak Russian, so he could talk to the Czar in his own language, directly.
>
> The day finally arrived, and the rabbi appeared dressed up in his modern clothes at the gate of the Palace in St. Petersburg, at the appointed hour. The Czar had been looking forward with great curiosity to meet an enigmatic, pious, real representative Jew . . . It was with some *Chootzpah* (audacity, gall) that the rabbi forced himself upon the attendants at the Palace gate and asked in Russian to be presented to His Majesty the Czar. The attendants did not believe their ears and eyes. They protested saying: 'There must be some mistake . . .' But the rabbi produced his credentials, so the 'modern rabbi', with the airs and bearing of a businessman, was brought before the shocked Czar. As the rabbi approached the Czar, he opened up in Yiddish-Russian, but the Czar did not let him go far.'*Pfui*' exploded the Czar, *Pashol Von* (Get out of here) you spurious, counterfeit, fraudulent, pretender; swine like you I have plenty around me every day. I looked forward to meet a reverent, saintly man to represent the Jews. *Pashol Von*.

I was too young to read and understand Ahad Ha'am's writings

about Dr. Herzl: "In Basel, yesterday, I sat lonely among my brothers, like a mourner at a wedding, etc." This, I did later, between 1909-1913, at the Hebrew Gymnasia Herzlia. But my grandfather's Yiddish-Hebrew speech I understood perfectly, and he was the first Jewish critic of Zionism I ever met until I began to read Ahad Ha'am stealthily at the Gymnasia Herzlia. My teachers and classmates did not like my quoting Ahad Ha'am.

Professor Martin Buber

I have already quoted some of the noblest words of Professor Martin Buber, but I shall give here just one paragraph which appeared in "Ihud's" *Ner*[14] the organ of Professor Buber, Dr. Magnes, Professor Ernest Simon, Reb. Binyomin, Dr. Shereshevsky, and many others. It appeared in the issue of January-February, 1961:

> Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred (for the Arabs). It is bound to bring complete ruin upon us. Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruits of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities that we robbed, we put up houses of education, charity, and prayer while we babble and rave about being the 'people of the book' and the 'light of the nations!'

Dr. Judah L. Magnes

Young Dr. Magnes matured rapidly only with the coming of the First World War. He played a prominent part in organizing the Joint Distribution Committee which helped the victims of war in Eastern Europe. He expressed his unhappiness about "imperialism's iniquitous gift to the Jewish people, the Balfour Declaration, which ought not to have been accepted . . ." He threw himself heart and soul into the building of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and became its Chancellor and then its President.

Writing about "Jewish" political nationalism and the rights of the Arabs of Palestine, Magnes asked:

> Will the Jews here in Palestine in their efforts to create a political organism become devotees of brute force and militarism as were some of the late Hashmonayim (Maccabees)? We seem to have thought of everything except the Arabs. If we wish to live in this living space, we must live with the Arabs, try to make peace with them . . . Is our nationality, like that of all the nations, pagan, and based upon force and violence, or is it a spiritual nationality? The right of the Jew does not confer the right of political majority. . .[15]

[14] A Hebrew magazine published by the *Ihud Association for the Union of Jews and Arabs in a Bi-National Palestine*

Professor Albert Einstein

Like Dr. Magnes, his close friend Professor Einstein also matured slowly and for a long while agreed with both sides of the controversy. Again, like Dr. Magnes, once he matured in his observation and analysis, he spoke out categorically. I shall give here one quote that Einstein made in 1933, and then a few lines from the recently published book by Ronald Clark, *Einstein, the Life and Times*.

In his book *Out of My Later Years*, Einstein talks about "the fateful disease of our time, exaggerated nationalism borne up by blind hatred", saying:

> I should much rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish state. Apart from the practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish state, with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power no matter how modest. I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain, especially from the development of a narrow nationalism within a Jewish state. We are no longer the Jews of the Maccabee period! A return to a nation in the political sense of the word would be equivalent to turning away from the spiritualism of our community, which we owe to the genius of our prophets.

Ronald Clark, in his voluminous book on Einstein, unfortunately repeats some of the cheap mythical publicity created by the Zionist machine. Thus, the tale that Weizmann invented TNT and in return received from Great Britain the Balfour Declaration is given, in spite of Weizmann's protests about it, and regardless of Weizmann's disgust with the irresponsible Zionist machine. Yet, having collected both good and bad material Ronald Clark did reveal, unwittingly perhaps, what Einstein stood for when he matured. Clark states: ". . . He would not remain associated, he said, with the Zionist movement unless it tried to

[15] From Norman Bentwich, *For Zion's Sake*

make peace with the Arabs, in deed as well as in word." He later quotes Einstein, saying: ". . . Should we be unable to find a way to honest pacts with the Arabs, then we have learned absolutely nothing during our 2000 years of suffering, and deserve all that will come to us . . ."

Louis D. Brandeis

Like many other emancipated and integrated philanthropic American Jews, Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian Mack and young Felix Frankfurter (later a Supreme Court Justice) joined the Zionist movement during and immediately after World War I on humanitarian and spiritual grounds. They even became leading officers and aides of the Zionist movement. Like many Zionist Jews, Brandeis took little cognizance of the fiery nationalistic Arabs of Palestine who constituted the predominant majority of the land. He knew even less of what was in the minds and hearts of the East European Zionist leaders who were resolved to make Palestine into a Jewish state, and the Jewish people into a Jewish nation. In 1920, he discovered the true political objectives of the political Zionists in London, where he went to attend the World Zionist Organization Conference. Brandeis could not countenance any organic nationhood for Jews; nor any sharing by Jews of other countries, or any Jewish national system of rights and obligations belonging to Palestine. He decided to abandon all affiliations with the Zionist organization. Facing Brandeis, Zionist Chayim Weizmann finally burst out in these historic words: "I do not agree with the philosophy of your Zionism, with your conception of Jewishness. We are different, absolutely different! There is no bridge between Washington and Pinsk."

Speaking for Brandeis and Frankfurter at the Zionist Annual Convention (Cleveland, June 1921), Judge Mack exclaimed:

> I now assert that there is no political tie binding together the Jews of the world, but that politically the Jewish citizens of the U.S.A. are exclusively American citizens . . . We asserted then, as we assert now that in the U.S.A., and in the countries of western Europe, there are no group-nationality political rights, and we asserted and claimed such rights for ourselves . . . The thought of a political status of the Jews of the world was an impossible conception . . .

Professor Morris B. Cohen

Here was one of the greatest healthy and outspoken Jewish critics of Zionism, the best example of an East European Jew who became fully integrated into American intellectual life. The following golden declarations are taken from his book, *A Dreamer's Journey:*

> I know of no religious belief by any substantial number of Jews which is not to be found also, in some measure, among other people. Jews are people first, and only Jews incidentally . . . We are not a homeless people. We helped build our American homeland. The overwhelming majority of Jewish immigrants and their descendants in this country have committed their lives to the basic principles of American democracy, that here in these United States, men and women of many different backgrounds may cooperate, bringing each his contribution to a greater civilization than has yet existed . . . Zionists fundamentally accept the racial ideology of the anti-Semites, but draw different conclusions. Instead of the Teutons, it is the Jew that is the purer or superior race. All sorts of virtue, idealism etc. are the characteristic qualitites of its spirit. Only in Palestine can this spirit find root.

William Zukerman

I loved and admired this wonderful Jew for his courage, integrity and unique talents as an observer of life. Into the four small pages of his bi-weekly *Jewish Newsletter*, Zukerman managed to cover Jewish life in depth and judge the entire Jewish world, particularly the Zionist world. I have selected a few passages from the issues of the *Jewish Newsletter* dated February 22, March 7, and April 4, 1960, where Zukerman dwells on the degeneration of the United Jewish Appeal as a result of its subservience to political Zionism. I refer the reader to a complete study of Zukerman in my *Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*. Here are some painful observations that Zukerman made:

> . . .The United Jewish Appeal (UJA) which started out to be a purely philanthropic and humanitarian organization has, since the emergence of the State of Israel, become an arm of the Jewish Agency, a department of Israel's government. Instead of helping impoverished Jews to reconstruct their lives . . . It has become primarily an agency for financing 'ingatherings' and other nationalistic and political policies of Israel, policies which are at times far from humanitarian: some are even of a military character . . . Why does the richest and most powerful Jewish community choose voluntarily to live in an atmosphere of ideological subservience and controlled thought which can be imposed only by force in countries behind the iron curtain? To this writer, the present UJA crisis is but a symptom of a much more serious crisis of the Jewish community which, for the last three decades, has not lived its own life, but largely that of

> another people and country seven thousand miles away ... (There is) the complete and uncritical surrender to a tribalistic nationalism which made of organized American Jews a typical ideological satellite of our time, one which clings to satellitism as principle, glorifies it and lives by it through free choice ...

Henry Hurwitz

Henry Hurwitz gave his whole life to the cause of being a worthy Jewish critic of Zionism. I first met and heard him as the editor of the *Menorah Journal* in 1914 when I entered New York University and he addressed the Jewish students on the campus.

He was a great man and a great Jew and a very brave personality, as well as an outstanding scholar. I had the privilege of corresponding often with Dr. Hurwitz as well as with Mr. Zukerman, and I cherished these warm and friendly contacts for many years. The *Menorah Journal* always maintained its intellectual independence as an American-Jewish non-Zionist publication. Henry Hurwitz was not a man the Zionist machine could buy, bribe or frighten. In 1959, he drew together a group of Jewish scholars and writers to form the Menorah Collegium "to provide Jewish knowledge upon which an enlightened modern Jewish allegiance can be based" (Professor Hans Kohn was one of the many scholars who joined Hurwitz). Judaism, not Zionism, interested them. His friends and admirers were collecting a special fund to make it possible for him to carry on his lifework, but the Zionist machine torpedoed and destroyed his work. A few months before he died, Dr. Hurwitz wrote to me, in a rather optimistic and hopeful spirit, about his persecutors:

> They have at least made it painfully clear by withdrawing their personal support from Menorah; and more serious than that, by seeing to it that all the Jewish federations and so-called 'Jewish Welfare Funds,' across the country expelled the Menorah Association of the *Menorah Journal* from their beneficiary agencies. The miracle is, in a way, that Menorah is still alive. Of the one thing you can be assured: our standards and independence will be maintained at all costs. We have had more than one coy proposal from this and that healthy organization to take us over. Our financial problems would be solved. And our freedom – that is, our true life – dissolved. I have resolutely turned a deaf ear to all such proposals of partisan organizations. In fact, the din of 'Jewish life' has really deafened me; so that I wear a hearing aid, and can really turn a deaf ear to unlistenables ...

Professor Hans Kohn

Among all of the great and true Jewish critics of Zionism who believed in and were guided by prophetic Judaism all through their lives as young students and as scholars-professors in Jewish and Gentile organizations and universities, there is no one who holds a higher moral stature than this outstanding authority on the phenomenon of the growth of political nationalism from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries to our modern time. Professor Kohn's books are universally recognized as the ultimate study and reference works.

Professor Kohn was born in Prague in 1891, and earned his degree as Doctor of Law at the German University there. He was taken prisoner by the Russians in World War I and spent almost five years in Turkestan and Siberia where he witnessed the Russian revolution and civil war. Returning to Europe by way of Japan, he spent several years in Paris and London, afterwards he settled in Jerusalem, where he studied the history and politics of the Middle East and of political Zionism. In 1926 he joined Dr. Magnes' Brit Shalom (League of Peace) to foster Arab-Jewish understanding. He emigrated from Palestine to the United States in 1931. He joined Dr. Hurwitz' Menorah Collegium "to provide Jewish knowledge upon which an enlightened modern Jewish allegiance can be based".

Professor Kohn was professor of History at the City College of New York, and in various other American colleges and universities. The following is a list of some of the best known books by Hans Kohn: *American Nationalism, Nationalism and Liberty, The Idea of Nationalism, Twentieth Century, Prophets and People,* and *Nationalism, Its Meaning and History.*

In his books, Hans Kohn made clear the degeneration of political nationalism from "a movement for the assertion of individual liberty and the rights of the citizen against his government, for an open society in contact with similar open societies, into degenerative, depraved and predatory aggressive political nationalism". Again and again, Kohn points out how degenerative nationalism began to stress the exclusiveness of various ethnic and linguistic groups to arouse the pride and passions of the nation or race. He points out how in the darkening European world wars, violence and fanaticism, nationalist passions, were often the force nurtured and exploited to undermine democracy and corrupt the people's humanitarian spirit so as to emphasize Cultural Superiority, Blood, Soil, Manifest Destiny, Chosen People, and Power above all. Political nationalism became a depraved and predatory movement on a universal scale, and Hans Kohn

saw in political Zionism a product of these insane nationalistic, imperialistic, colonialistic drives, which became the pattern and philosophy of the life of the nations of Europe, and which culminated in the two World Wars.

Professor Kohn wrote much on Ahad Ha'am whom he admired immensely. Particularly important is his comprehensive article on "Zion and the Jewish National Idea" in the *Menorah Journal*, Autumn-Winter, 1958.

Rabbi Elmer Berger

Rabbi Elmer Berger had two brain-children: first, the American Council for Judaism (ACJ), a well-born, healthy, dynamic child; and second, the American-Jewish Alternatives to Zionism Inc. (AJAZ) – a child that remains largely dependent on its father's affection and support.

I joined the good old ACJ soon after it was organized in 1943, in the U.S.A. in answer to the Biltmore Conference, where a gathering of all the political Zionist leaders of the world met under the guidance of Ben Gurion, Nahum Goldmann, and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland. Rabbi Silver's slogan – characteristic of all Zionist leaders – was "the clear purpose of Zionism was, and is, to give to the Jewish people the status of a nation". The Biltmore Conference took place in May, 1942, in the midst of World War II, and their resolution was that there must be established in Palestine a Jewish State for the Jews of the world.

In 1943, the ACJ consisted of a group of Reform rabbis among whom there was a charming young scholarly rabbi by the name of Elmer Berger. There was one very rich layman by the name of Lessing J. Rosenwald who collaborated with the group of anti-Zionist rabbis, and who helped the ACJ financially to get organized. He particularly liked the young Elmer Berger, and opened an office for him where he became the Executive Secretary of the ACJ.

The ACJ issued a strong manifesto, parts of which read as follows:

> The day has come when we must cry 'Halt'! The conditioning of American Jewry by a Jewish flag and a Jewish army and a state in Palestine and a dual citizenship in America, is more than we can accept. The secularist creed has overreached itself. We have been watching with anxiety the secularization tendencies in American-Jewish life, the absorption of large numbers in Jewish endeavors, the intrusion of the Palestine issue as an irritating factor in intra-community relations, the persistent public expression of extremists who presume to speak for all American Jewry, the efforts to cultivate and promote the sense of psychological difference between American Jews and their fellow Americans ... the unremitting efforts of certain groups to put American Jews behind programs of international political pressure ... We refuse any longer to be religious acrobats. We cannot pact with the untenable position in society which "Jewish" nationalism as a creed imposes upon us.

I read the Manifesto in the newspapers and decided to join the ACJ. Before long, young Rabbi Berger and I became good friends. I admired the steadfastness, sincerity and scholarly talents of Rabbi Berger. Our correspondence and collaboration has been kept up and growing through thick and thin.

The ACJ was growing fast. A public relations expert, Bill Gottlieb, was engaged. Bill was, and is, a highly talented, able, enthusiastic and dedicated hard worker. As head of the Information Department, he also edited the ACJ newsletter *Brief* and a quarterly magazine *Issues*, which became known all over the world, like the *Menorah Journal* of Dr. Hurwitz. Bill Gottlieb knew practically every important editor, commentator and public figure in America. He was in daily contact with the press, radio, T.V. and carried on a correspondence with scholars, lecturers, authors who were interested in the Middle East, in America and abroad.

Rabbi Berger wrote a number of fine books on the subject of Zionism versus Judaism: *The Jewish Dilemma, A Partisan History of Judaism, Who Knows Better Must Say So, Judaism or Jewish Nationalism.* He wrote many pamphlets and articles; he took part in many debates, and delivered many lectures. Writing was Rabbi Berger's principal, almost exclusive interest and joy. He was not happy when he was called upon to bother about drives, members, membership dues, popular growth. Polemics was his *forte*; so the good, kind and appreciative directors of ACJ engaged an extraordinary, fine, practical leader by the name of Leonard Sussman who became the Executive Secretary of ACJ, and Rabbi Berger thus became Executive Vice President of ACJ. Berger became the spiritual leader of anti-Zionism in America.

The ACJ became a truly national movement of anti-Zionist Jews in America and the headquarters of ACJ were buzzing with activity. There was a big library, a big mailing department where thousands of pamphlets, booklets, press releases were mailed out constantly. There were secretaries and typists and shippers. ACJ became a force to be reckoned with by the

Zionist machine. It was truly a Council for Judaism, an organ that spoke for prophetic Judaism, and therefore it fought in the name of Judaism against "Jewish" political nationalism, against wars of conquests, expansion, terror, napalming in the Middle East by those Jews who believed in *Lebensraum*, the new religion of the Zionist Jews. The ACJ could count on a few thousand very intelligent, very enthusiastic dues-paying members all over the country.

ACJ members met often in their own communities to listen to lectures by prominent speakers on the subject of Zionism and Judaism and Zionist Israel. Near my home town Los Gatos, in San Francisco, and sometimes even in San Jose (a smaller city) we used to attend meetings of ACJ members. In San Francisco, hundreds of members and non-members used to crowd into attractive halls to listen to interesting speakers. And, there were other than ACJ organs to arouse interest in anti-Zionist thoughts and reactions. There was the *Jewish Newsletter* of William Zukerman, a bi-weekly review, and a most remarkable pithy magazine that attracted thousands of non-Jews as well as Jews. There was the *Menorah Journal* of Dr. Henry Hurwitz, an intellectual organ of the highest order. The *Jewish Newsletter*, the *Menorah Journal* and the ACJ *Issues* brought regularly into many Jewish homes the big problems and the arguments against political Zionism and its secular and segregative goals in American-Jewish life.

The ACJ was merrily doing its work until 1967 and almost up to June 5, when the Six-Day War broke out. At this point I recall an incident which exposed the first dark cloud in the bright sky of the ACJ even before the Six-Day War. Mr. Leonard Sussman, the Executive Secretary of the ACJ, gave up his fine and important job in 1966. Something catastrophic seemed to be brewing inside the ACJ headequarters, and perhaps Mr. Sussman also had good personal reasons for changing jobs. He accepted the job of Executive Director of Freedom House in New York.

I saw in Mr. Sussman the mainstay of the ACJ because of the non-administrative position of Rabbi Berger. I pleaded with Mr. Sussman not to abandon our ACJ. I saw Mr. Sussman in New York; also in San Francisco, and admired his fine, strong, yet calm personality. My appeals did not help. Tragically, it happened at a time when Rabbi Berger began to feel tired of duties and regular office work. He wanted to ease up somehow and limit his daily work to what might be called *consultant responsibilities*. The ACJ directors engaged a new executive secretary, Norton Mezvinsky. The latter did not have the experience and maturity of

Mr. Sussman; and at the time of the Six-Day War, with Rabbi Berger's opposition hollering "dump Berger" because of his outspokenness against aggressive expansionist Zionist Israel, the new executive secretary did not register. Mr. Sussman might have helped to save the ACJ. It was a time when the Jewish world went berserk. Typical is the following: *"The glorious fighters of Israel have made an automatic hero of every Jew in America, yea, of the world. Because of Israel's bravery and shining courage, Jews today stand ten feet tall."*[16]

The extravagant and, more than ever, high-priced and powerful Zionist-Israel and American-Jewish Zionist propaganda machines, in their devious and diabolic ways, covered the press, radio, TV thoroughly. They even took command of the individual Jews in their respective communities about contributions to "the cause". They praised and gave *Koved* (honor) to such Jews who contributed heavily to the Zionist tax-exempt chest, and assaulted and threatened anyone who did not give as much as he was expected to give.

The ACJ directors whose brothers and charitable friends who were Zionists served with them on various communal and national boards, fell victims to the propaganda and pressures exerted on them socially. After 25 years of fighting valiantly and independently against the new religion of "Jewish" *Lebensraum* that destroyed prophetic Judaism, the ACJ directors found themselves brain-washed. Orders were issued to the ACJ employees to stop criticizing Zionist Israel and to confine themselves to the work of "protecting" Judaism in the U.S.A. only.

I met the new Executive Secretary of the ACJ at a luncheon given in his honor at the Jewish Concordia Club in San Francisco a few days after the Six-Day War. He impressed me as a clever but ambitious and presumptuous fellow. I must say he disappointed me, for the last thing I expected on that day was to hear anyone justify in any way the murderous things done in the Six-Day War by the "Jewish" Nationalists. Here is what I heard Mezvinsky say – and it is something I shall never forget: *"The Jews in Palestine have an equal equity as the Arabs . . ."* My heart was bleeding at the daily news of murder, expansion, exile, napalming of the innocent, poor, defeated Arabs who fought for justice – for their homes and homeland, and here stood an executive secretary of the anti-Zionist ACJ and white-washed the Nazistic deeds of Zionist Israel by saying that "the Jews in Palestine have an equal equity as the Arabs" . . . I stood up

[16] Intermountain Jewish News, Denver, Colorado

and faced Mezvinsky, and protested against his unacceptable judgement.

Mezvinsky continued his tour of the country, visiting ACJ chapters, and when he returned to his office in New York, he started a correspondence with me, the gist of which was: *"Mr. Menuhin, I do not believe that one side is all wrong and the other all right. You, Mr. Menuhin, are more inclined to view the conflict in black (Israel) and white (for the Arabs) . . . Hence we disagree . . ."* When it comes to a question of justice, my religion of prophetic Judaism does not allow any compromises: "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not covet."

At this point Mervinsky left his job at ACJ. He found another job as instructor of American History at the Central Connecticut State College.

To return to Rabbi Berger's 1968 confrontation with the old ACJ directors. I sometimes think that had Mr. Sussman been the executive secretary of the ACJ in those trying times, he might have cooled tempers around the "Elmer Question". Perhaps? But the fact remains that the ACJ directors were subjected to superhuman brainwashing. While Berger remained loyal to his ideals of prophetic Judaism, to the ideals of the old ACJ, "dump Berger" became the slogan, particularly by Lessing Rosenwald, who until or around the 1967 Six-Day War had been Berger's protector and supporter for 25 years!

Naturally I promptly sided with my good friend Berger as soon as opposition to him broke out into a movement calling for his resignation. In the course of the years since 1943, there had developed a warm friendship between Berger and me. Ideologically we always agreed, although when it came to tactics, I being a peculiar combination of a pragmatic businessman and an uncompromising idealist in matters of ethics, always hoped that someday Berger would come down to earth from his polemical heaven.

Now, there had to take place the regular annual ACJ membership convention in New York, in October, 1968. So, entirely on my own initiative, I plunged into a personal campaign that kept me working hard day and night all through the summer of 1968. I secured a selected list of the most intelligent members of the ACJ all over the country, and wrote to each and every one individual and circular letters about the vital issues involved in the Elmer Question. I demanded that they go to New York and vote against the old directors. Hundreds of ACJ members responded sympathetically to my appeals. The exhausing work was very fruitful. Thus, the majority of the ACJ members who attended the New York convention responded warmly to Rabbi Berger and voted against the old directors. The last day at the convention could have been the "finest hour", the crowning day in Rabbi Berger's life. It was up to him and to him alone, to be strong, lead his enthusiastic supporters out and leave the old directors with an almost empty hall . . . He missed the great potential for creating on that day a new and successful dynamic ACJ that would fight fearlessly for the religion of prophetic Judaism.

The old directors offered to meet again with Rabbi Berger, although they were determined to dump him by hook or by crook. They used a clever political gimmick to get a general paper vote of the ACJ members all over the country by means of a very attractive and persuasive appeal to vote for the old directors. A prepaid, airmailed reply was enclosed. All the famously rich directors gave their signatures to the appeal.

To cut a long, sad story short, Rabbi Berger agreed to meet with the old directors to work out a compromise, even though any sensible man could tell that the old directors had no use for him. The worst thing was the loss of precious time. Rabbi Berger procrastinated and went off on a trip abroad while the enthusiasm of the ACJ members who had attended the New York convention and voted for him and applauded him with fervor began to die out.

Rabbi Berger was tired, after being the target of the entire Zionist world for 25 years. At this tragic and trying moment, there must have taken place a severe psychological crisis, a survival crisis: how could he continue his work without the financial support of the rich directors paying his salary and the salaries of his executive secretary, his public relations man, his secretaries, typists, printers, shippers, all expense accounts, all sorts of trips, offices, library, telephones etc. etc.? The old directors of course, held on to the headquarters of ACJ even as they fired men like Bill Gottlieb and such employees who were in spirit with Rabbi Berger.

He still must have hoped that at a post-convention meeting with the old directors he could work out some acceptable position and assume a "consultant's responsibilities". Months passed, and finally, when the meeting took place, Rabbi Berger and the directors failed to come to terms; the directors were through with him. Suddenly Elmer Berger found himself alone and abandoned, and his devoted followers who had applauded him so much at the New York convention in October, 1968 felt that they were abandoned by him. In desperation Elmer Berger and a group of loyal friends and followers created AJAZ, the American-Jewish Alternatives to Zionism Inc.

The American Jews knew nothing of Rabbi Berger's position, and hardly anything about the degeneration of the ACJ. There were no explanations in the form of a full page advertisement in the New York Times, which has always been the usual procedure when a new organization of public importance takes place. No public relations man was engaged. Bill Gottlieb, who had been fired, even before Rabbi Berger left the organization, was still unemployed.

A small number of members loyal to Rabbi Berger managed to collect enough funds to pay rent for an office, a secretary, office expenses, etc. And I, of course, in spite of my protests and criticisms, joined the AJAZ and became a substantial supporter for that organization. Please read in the new 1969 edition of my book, *The Decadence Of Judaism In Our Time*, pp. 542-579, the chapter on "The Degeneration of the ACJ since the Six-Day War," particularly pp. 578-579, parts of which I had to rush by cable to the publishers while the press was stopped to include the latest developments as the AJAZ office was about to open.

I collaborated in every possible way with Rabbi Berger, hoping that through my loyalty and friendship and support I could exert enough pressure on him to realize that just an office address, a secretary, a revolving chair with some occasional reports written by him, or contacts with some bigwigs of the mainly Gentile world, was not a Jewish anti-Zionist movement. The *American Jewish Year Book of 1972* which publishes a complete list of all the national Jewish organizations (pp. 643-676), begins with the American Council for Judaism 809 Fifth Avenue, New York etc. But it did not deem it necessary to also list the American-Jewish Alternatives to Zionism. The world did not know of its existence.

For four years (1969-1972) I kept on writing long letters, friendly but strong, debating, coaxing, pushing Rabbi Berger to engage Bill Gottlieb to do something about a *drive* to get Jewish members to join the AJAZ; to use public relations methods to tell the world about our existence; to tell the world through a full page ad in the New York Times what we believe in. Rabbi Berger had no heart for this big job; nor did he believe that the few rich members of AJAZ would raise the necessary extra funds to finance the drive, the public relations work, etc. . . for Rabbi Berger is essentially a writer, in touch with other writers, and not an organizer and activist. Therefore, *AJAZ* is mainly a matter of supporting Berger's very

good reports and his other writings and contacts.

I could not help but reach the conclusion that my support of AJAZ and Rabbi Berger was sterile and negative in results because something serious and productive had to be done. I was always sure that there were tens of thousands of American Jews who imbibed with their mothers' milk the spirit and automatic responses of prophetic Judaism against the inhumanity of the new "Jewish" religion of insane, predatory, nationalistic *Lebensraum*. I always believed that through counter-propaganda and public relations on our part, plus the pressures of an awakened public all over the world, we could – at least, we should – awaken world Jewry against the nationalistic military junta that runs poor, misguided Israel.

Having learned that Rabbi Berger was about to sell his home in New York, and knowing that he and his charming and self-sacrificing wife were settling in their new home in Sarasota, Florida, and spending a goodly amount of time in Washington with the folks of the "Americans for Peace and Justice", I decided to take a bold stand, and on March 12, 1972 I wrote to Rabbi Berger as follows:

> I am through debating and wasting my precious life time and energy . . . You do not solve our problems . . . I have demanded a propaganda office etc., ever since 1968 without getting any results. Dear Elmer, let us stop quarelling. I shall allow you some time to see what new initiative you may show. *There is an abyss between us* . . .

After a life time of using my God-given power of initiative for my family and for my ideals, I just could not continue to be a blindly approving rubber stamp sponsor of the forlorn AJAZ. And within a few weeks, I fully realized that there was an abyss between Rabbi Berger and myself. So, on May 2, 1972 I was forced to resign with sorrow from AJAZ, and go back to my lone-wolf way of life.

Dr. Alfred Lilienthal

Today, alas, one can count the number of true Jewish critics of Zionism actively dedicating their time and energy to the cause of justice and humanity as expected of Jews who believe in prophetic Judaism, on the fingers of one hand. Dr. Alfred Lilienthal is one of the most active leaders giving everything he has for the cause. He became famous overnight after an article of his, "Israel's Flag Is Not Mine!" appeared in the *Reader's*

Digest, in 1949. Three books by Lilienthal followed: *What Price Israel?* in 1953, *There Goes The Middle East* in 1957, and *The Other Side of the Coin* in 1965, three wonderful, original, eye-opening books on the ravaging role of inhumanity played by Zionist Israel in Arab Palestine and the Middle East.

Today, Dr. Lilienthal edits the monthly magazine *Middle East Perspective* and lectures before clubs and student organizations throughout the U.S. He travels almost annually to the Middle East to observe and understand the constant changes and developments in the angry and dangerous war-torn countries there.

Alfred Lilienthal is a one-man shock battalion. How he does all he accomplishes without cracking up physically and financially, I cannot understand. He is always working under terrific strain and undoubtedly brings great sacrifices to the altar of his ideals. Dr. Lilienthal is a tempestuous person, and like many of us, will sometimes burst, and sometimes overdo it. I have known him to beg pardon, go out of his way to make up with sensitive friends, forget past irritations and misunderstandings for the good of the cause. Said Dr. Mehdi in his *Action* magazine about Dr. Lilienthal:

> Courage, deep-conviction, and above all self-sacrifice, are all the necessary credentials . . . Threats, hate mail, physical attacks on the street, obscene phone calls, you name it, and Alfred Lilienthal has long endured it. Perhaps the most difficult adjustment has been the personal one, old friends and family relationships that invariably become strained under such circumstances . . .

I have had many exchanges of letters and several meetings with Dr. Lilienthal. I know well what it takes to do all he tries to do. I never had any quarrel or misunderstanding with Alfred and have always enjoyed our contacts. In fact, my wife has never forgiven me for an awful thing I did in public to Alfred during a heated mass meeting of many students at the San Jose (California) State College (near Los Gatos, my home town). There came the question and answer period after a wonderful lecture delivered by Alfred to the excited students. One student kept on asking some serious questions. He did not seem to be satisfied with the answers given by Alfred. Audaciously I stood up and dared ask permission from Alfred to answer the student. My answer was long, strong, and exciting. (In fact, I had to resort to a nitro glycerine pill to stop a nasty spasm.) I should have

apologized to the lecturer for what I did. I did not. Alfred joined the students in smiling and applauding the old chap Moshe Menuhin. But Mrs. Menuhin thought I was not a gentleman on that occasion. Alfred could have felt offended, and could have burst out. No, – he was a sport and we are the best of friends.

May Alfred Lilienthal live long and continue in good health his unique and dedicated life work. He is a true Jewish critic of Zionism. By now, he well deserves the title of Elder Statesman in our anti-Zionist world, but he would laugh at such a thought when there is so much to do, and so many battles to fight, win or lose.

Dr. Israel Shahak

Dr. Israel Shahak is the youngest and most promising, daring, Jewish critic of Zionism today. He is a graduate of the same Hebrew Gymnasia Herzlia I went to in Jaffa – Tel Aviv in my boyhood days, and he served in the Israeli army, 1951-1953.

I have had the pleasure and privilege of corresponding with this extraordinary young Israeli extensively, frequently and intimately, during the two years 1970-1971. Many of his most interesting letters to me I copied, with his knowledge and consent, and mailed out to many friends among Jews and Gentiles in the U.S.A. and abroad.

Dr. Shahak is forty years old. He now holds the position of senior lecturer in organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He also holds the position of President of the Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights. I shall let Dr. Shahak tell vital parts of his life story as he did it in one of his early letters to me:

> I was born in Warsaw, Poland, on 28.4.1933 (April 28, 1933) into a religious Zionist family. I lived in a Warsaw ghetto till April, 1943, and after some adventures was kept in Bergen-Belsen from July, 1943 till April, 1945. Most of my family including my father were exterminated (in gas chambers), but my mother survived . . . We came to Palestine September, 1945 . . . I have been educated a complete Zionist, including 4 years (1947-51) in your own Gymnasia Herzlia in Tel Aviv. I served in the Army (1951-1953) and then went to the Hebrew University. After finishing my studies and doing some post graduate research studies in Stanford University in California (1961-1963) I became a teacher, and now a senior lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I had been a brainwashed Zionist till the 1956 war. What made me think was the notorious massacre at Kefar Kassem and the proclamations of Ben Gurion about the

> annexations, the third kingdom, etc. Then, the 1967 Six Day War: the cruelties, the expulsions, the lies, the wish for further expansion made me a real activist, and I must say I owe much to your inspiration at that point ... I hate to trade on my sufferings under the Nazis, I have absolutely no hate for the Germans; only for the Nazis ... I have seen that 'but for the grace of God' each one of us can become a Nazi if he opens his heart to evil, especially he can become a Nazi if he thinks that here it cannot happen ... What had drawn me especially to you is the fact that you have not been afraid of using the word 'Nazi' in Zionistic connections. For, of this I am afraid, and because of the great love I bear for Israel and my people, I think our Nazification can be the worst fate which can befall us. The danger is real ...

As President of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, Dr. Shahak issued reports to the United Nations which were published and circulated by the United Nations General Assembly.[17] They are completely documented, based on reports in the Hebrew press in Israel, and concerned with political oppression, labor exploitation, collective punishment, blowing up of houses, administrative detention, expulsion and torture and killing.

In 1971, Dr. Shahak distributed leaflets about "the Horrors of Gaza", and took part in the demonstrations of the so-called "Black Panthers" [the brain-washed and subverted Arab Jews of North Africa, Iraq, etc., who were ingathered into Zionist Israel, and who now form together with the "Sephardis" – the Oriental Spanish-speaking Jews – over sixty percent of the Jewish population, but who are treated by the European (Russian-Polish) Jews as second class citizens]. Recently, Dr. Shahak helped to translate a heartbreaking appeal by the Arab students of the Hebrew Universities in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, entitled: "The Conspiracy for Exiling the Arab Youth".

On July 13, 1971, the United Nations Security Council published a transcript of an interview given by Dr. Shahak in the French magazine *Temoignage Chretien* (August 13, 1970). I shall give here just a few paragraphs from the remarkable and fearless interview:

> In an issue of the *Histadruth* (Israel's Trade Union Journal of September, 1967) an important Zionist who had been director of the Settlement Department for years, and who was then adviser in Arab affairs to the Prime Minister, wrote: 'Between ourselves, it must be clear that there is no room in this country for two nations. As long as the Arabs are here, we shall never reach our aim, which is to become an independent nation on this little stretch of territory. The only solution is to have at least Western Palestine without Arabs, and, to achieve this, there is no other way except to displace them towards the neighboring countries, and to displace them all. No Arabs must stay here ... only if we succeed shall we be able to absorb the millions of our brothers who are still in the diaspora (exile). There is no other solution!'

[17] See Distr. General A/8089, 26 October, 1970

"You paint a very gloomy picture", said the magazine's reporter.

> 'Perhaps there are a few rays of hope', answered Dr. Shahak. 'The younger generation in Israel, particularly the older school children are beginning to ask questions ... But my greatest hope lies in the Arabs who are suffering in our prisons. If we fight with them for their rights, we can build something very solid. I have been moved by the profound sympathy built up between the members of the Committee and the Arabs with whom we work. We cannot buy our security through power. It is only through the restoration of equal rights for all that we can reach peace.
>
> For me, before the war, Israel counted more than anything else. Today, I believe that it was wrong ... Now I insist that we give the Arabs the basic human rights of returning to their homes. I am not a master permitting them to return, but an equal, and I demand equality for them ... I am not afraid of anything. Someone has to say these things ... If they call me mad, perhaps rightly, I shall reply that I'm a Jewish madman. Then they will have to listen to me.'

On July 21, 1971, the United Nations Security Council published a letter for circulation from the Permanent Representative of Israel, Yosef Tekoah. Along with other defamatory and denigrating remarks, he said the following:

> Israel Shahak is known to speak for a handful of avowed supporters of Arab belligerency against Israel. In the interview, Mr. Shahak has delivered himself of such concoction of falsehoods and distortions imbued with self-hatred, that he himself found it necessary to conclude the interview with the following statement: 'If they call me mad, perhaps rightly, I shall reply that I am a Jewish madman ...'

Please recall the words of the ancient Jewish prophets: *meshoogah ish harooch*, mad is the man of spirit ... This is what the ancient professional Jews with their vested interests called the prophets. Mad are all the Jewish critics of Zionism.

The few quotes I gave above were parts of the letters and reports

sent to me directly and regularly by Dr. Shahak. The following quotes come from reports Dr. Shahak mailed out from Zionist Israel to some friends to whom I introduced Shahak during 1970-1971.

May I quote here a few more pithy remarks made by Dr. Israel Shahak. To me he wrote: "I completely agree with you about the essential similarity between Nazism and Zionism. In fact, I am trying to convert Mezvinsky to this." And in the *Middle East International* of March, 1973, the editors quote the following bold remarks made by Dr. Shahak in the London Times recently: He (Shahak) argued that Jewish devotion to the State of Israel of which he is a citizen is "both immoral and against the mainstream of Jewish tradition and must bring disaster on Israel ... It seems to me that the majority of my people has left God, and has substituted an idol in its place, exactly as it happened when they were so devoted to the Golden Calf in the desert, that they gave their gold to make it. The name of this modern idol is the State of Israel."

Shahak is a great man! A great Jew. Now, instead of quoting just passages, I shall allow myself to give the full reports and comments sent out by Dr. Israel Shahak. They are of tremendous importance to those who wish to know what is going on in Zionist Israel today. Reading these recent reports from Israel (November and December, 1972) leads one to the conclusion that so far Zionist Israel is a Nazi-Fascist State.

Statement No. 1: Dr. Israel Shahak,
2 Bartenura Street, Jerusalem Israel

17 November 1972

Dear Friends,

Yesterday, 16 November, 1972, the yearly meeting of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights was broken up by a mob organized by the Israeli Labor Party and the Shin Beth (Secret Police).

Exactly at the time when the meeting had to begin (19.30 in the evening) organized groups of several hundred people under the leadership of well known members of the Young Israeli Labor Party, like Mr. U. Baram, and Mr. A. Golan, appeared and clamored to be admitted to the membership *at once* and to the assembly and voting rights. Some "persuasion" like taking away of the election blanks was also employed. The mob was brought specially from rather far away places and had rather obviously no interest or even understanding about human rights or indeed anything but to obey those who brought them. Some well known members of the Shin Beth (Secret Police) were rather conspicuous.

Under those conditions there was no possibility of holding an assembly and with the assent of all the members of the committee of the League, I dissolved it before it started. Almost all the members of the League left. The "rest" remained and constituted themselves an assembly and elected a completely new committee. Then they passed a resolution deploring the persecution of Russian Jews. Other matters regarding Israel were not even mentioned.

For the moment, the legal situation is unclear, and anyhow I am personally sure that the great majority of Israeli judges will in those matters uphold anything coming from the Israeli Labor Party ... Most certainly all the members of the committee and the obvious majority of the League members are determined to continue to do what we did: to fight for human rights (as determined by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights) for every human being in the area ruled by the State of Israel and its government. So that we will continue to publish for all the world what we think is true and needs changing in this respect. Under what name and in what organization we will do it – this is another matter, and you will see it by yourself in the future.

Statement No. 2: The Israel League for Human Civil Rights. P.O. Box 14192, Tel Aviv, Israel.

14 December 1972

Clarification

Since various conflicing and misleading reports had appeared in newspapers both inside Israel and out of it ('Jerusalem Post' being the most mendacious) about the recent events in the Israel League for Civil and Human Rights, we want to make clear the situation:

(1) The attempt of a hired and violent mob organized by the Israeli Labour Party to take over the general assembly of the League on the 16 November, 1972, failed. Judge Lovenberg of the District Court of Tel Aviv, had pronounced the events of the night to be null and void, and that the former committee of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights continue with their duties as the only lawful officers of the League.

(2) Some of the members of this committee are:

Dr. Israel Shahak, Chairman
Mordechay Avi-Shaul, Vice Chairman
Yaffa Gavish, Treasurer

Lea Tzemel, Secretary

(3) According to the decision of the judge Mr. Lovenberg, new elections and a new general assembly will be held in the beginning of 1973. The applications to join the League can be made – this time – only till 15 December, to the existing committee of the League.

(4) In view of what had happened already, and of the known plans of the Israeli Labour Party (see attached communication) the committee of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights had decided to accept only *individual applications*.

(5) Meantime we will continue with our usual work of the League, to the best of our ability.

Statement No. 3: The Israel League for Human Rights. P.O. Box 14192, Tel Aviv, Israel

14 December 1972

We are bringing to your attention the translation of the following document distributed by the Israeli Labour Party, with our comments.

"The Israeli Labour Party/District of Tel Aviv.
The Department of Youth. Internal, not for publication.

Greetings.

For the purpose of enabling our party to have a predominant influence in the League for Human Rights, we are making a national operation of registration of new members.(1)

This association is now under the rule of the people of the Israel Communist Party (Rakah)(2), and we see it is a duty of the State to change this characteristic.(3)

You are asked to fill up the questionnaire attached here and to bring it to the club 'Bustan', Frug Street, No. 1, Tel Aviv, not later than 14 December, 1972, which is the latest date for admitting new members, according to the decision of the court.(4)

The members who will register will be invited to a meeting for the election of representatives.

I hope that you will help in the success of this operation.

Please fill the enclosed questionnaire and send it immediately. The expenses of the membership dues will be covered by us.(5) Thanks!

The Secretariat of the Youth Department, Tel Aviv.

Let us deal with the five (5) specific points: (1) The Israeli Labour Party does not even pretend that it is concerned with Human and Civil Rights per se; neither does it expect from its members to be interested in this topic. Its main interest lies in having a "predominant influence". (2) It is a complete lie that the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights is ruled by people of the Rakah Party. As a proof, the present chairman (since March 1970), Dr. Israel Shahak, is neither a communist nor a socialist. While the League accepts people of all parties, it is our belief that the majority of the members of the League's Committee are not members of Rakah. We did not ask, neither will we ever ask, the individual members about their political beliefs, so long as they express commitment to the cause of Human Rights, as expressed in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1949). In this, we do not behave like the Israeli Labour Party, which is interested in having "a predominant influence" only! (3) Since the Israeli Labour Party declared itself that it sees in this "operation" (a revealing word from the military lexicon rather unsuitable to Human Rights!) "a duty of the State" – a strong suspicion arises, that some authorities of the State of Israel had decided upon this operation, and use the Israeli Labour Party only as a docile instrument. The most probable "authority" for deciding and ordering such an operation is the notorious "Shin-Beth" (the Israeli secret police). (4) The decision of the Court was exactly the reverse. The judge, Mr. Lovenberg, had reiterated again and again that organized and fabricated "mass-joinings" are to be condemned. (5) The bosses of the Israeli Labour Party have such small faith in their members, that they have to pay their expenses of membership dues. The whole dues are ten Israeli pounds a year – less than two and a half dollars. We have here a shocking case of political corruption. Money of the Israeli Labour Party comes from *donations free from income tax*, both inside Israel and outside it, and is used simply to pay for people to join organizations . . .

Remarkable is the tragic fact that not one American newspaper – and I read many newspapers and magazines including the daily New York Times – reported anything about these purely Nazistic-Fascistic acts of the ruling party that controls the Israeli government. Is Israel really going to the dogs in our post-Hitler world; or is there any hope? It is true that Jewish anti-Zionism is scarcely alive in America. But, with such young

brave determined leaders as Israel Shahak, and when world opinion is moving fast and steadily against Zionist Israel; and with hopes that a stronger and more outspoken and condemnatory United Nations, all forcing Zionist Israel to return to their God of prophetic Judaism instead of their insane religion of *Lebensraum*, there may take place an internal combustion. In 1944-1945 Hitler's Germany had nothing but Nazi-Fascists as its "Labour Party". Only a few anti-Nazis dared live and act and often lost their lives. Where are today the loudmouthed, arrogant cannibals of Nazi Germany? It is true that Nazi Germany was defeated in a terrible war. But is war necessary today in the occupied Middle East? Where are the Jews who are still wise and can foresee that time is not on their side? The Shahaks and Avi Shauls and their followers have a noble and unique job to do. May they win.

CONCLUSION

Filling the Growing Vacuum in My Personal Life as a Jew Who Abhors Zionism

Having found myself forced by my conscience to dedicate my life-time and energy to exposing "the decadence of Judaism in our time" and helping others in their honest endeavors to fight militant "Jewish" nationalism (Zionism), I suddenly and sadly discovered in recent years the tragic growing vacuum in our dwindling Jewish anti-Zionist camp. I just could not accept and agree to *ersatz* anti-Zionism, a sort of a line of least resistance and least strain . . .

To live with my conscience, although work is not as easily done at eighty as earlier in my life, I did on my own a number of things.

1. Regarding young Dr. Israel Shahak of Israel as the most honest, sincere, fearless and promising Jewish leader in the anti-Zionist camp, I managed to make inside my basement office a great many photocopies of the most interesting and enlightening letters Shahak wrote to me during 1970-1971. I circulated about a dozen of the most eye-opening letters among many Jewish and Gentile friends so that when he came to the United States, many leaders and important newspaper editors knew who Dr. Shahak was and met him in a most friendly way. Shahak was in New York from about January 1, 1972 to about January 10, 1972, and then again early in 1973.

2. From January 5, 1971 to February 4, 1972 I recorded with the remarkable and dedicated Colin Edwards many interviews on tapes. After careful editing, and a number of new recording sessions in January, 1973, Mr. Edwards has now for distribution eleven tape cassettes in which my whole life experiences from my childhood in Czarist Russia to my "retirement" in Los Gatos, California, and my observations, studies and battles with the Zionist world are faithfully and wonderfully recorded. Each cassette takes about one full hour, and there are eleven of them.

Here are the eleven tape-cassettes as Mr. Colin Edwards has them now available for sale:

1. *Child of the Pogroms.* 2. *Hassidism and the Route to Jerusalem.* 3. *Life in Old Palestine.* 4. *Zionism: From Basel to the New York Biltmore (Hotel).* 5. *Jews who Spoke Up.* 6. *The '48-'49 and 1956 Wars.* 7. *The '67 War and its Aftermath.* 8. *Israel, Russia, and Anti-Semitism.* 9. *Israel and the West.* 10. *Testamentary: What it Means to be a Jew.* 11. *Moshe Menuhin Speaks to the World and Particularly its Jews.*

Mr. Edwards has been covering Middle East affairs off and on since 1948 for the BBC in London and other radio broadcasting companies, in the Middle East, at the United Nations Headquarters, and in between assignments in the Far East, Europe and North America. His broadcast programs have been heard over national radio networks in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and on U.N. radio. Also on Pacifica Radio Stations and Pacifica Affiliate Stations in the U.S.

Interesting are the experiences Mr. Edwards had in arranging for the manufacture and distribution of his tapes, (and by the way, I have transferred all my rights to the tapes to my friend Mr. Edwards. I buy the Menuhin tapes.) Originally Mr. Edwards contracted with a well-financed cassette manufacturing company to produce and distribute his tapes on a world-wide scale. By November 1972, the Menuhin Tapes were to be ready for the market. To show their appreciation, the firm presented me with a cassette player, and mailed out to my friends forty-five cassettes. But, diabolical, devious, underground and invisible forces caused the firm to violate their contract with Mr. Edwards. They just could not produce and distribute the Menuhin Tapes . . .

Fortunately, the University of California Extension Media Center asked for the privilege of manufacturing and distributing all the eleven

Menuhin Tapes on cassette and reel-to-reel tapes.*

3. From the middle of 1971 to April, 1972 (over nine months) I managed to work very hard but very enthusiastically on a planned book and on a long and striking introduction for the book. (You will understand a little later why I use the word *striking* about my introduction.) I gave the title 'Jewish Critics of Zionism' to the book and to its introduction. The book was killed by anti-Zionists who unwittingly served the cause of the Zionist machine. The introduction – now this Testamentary Essay – has been revised, enlarged and updated to make it independent of the book. It is almost a year since I wrote it with my soul on fire. The Introduction, and the book, with its Table of Contents as I had it, were regarded by many who have read it as a "clean H-bomb" in our struggle with the terrifically strong Zionist machine. Many people keep asking "where, when can we buy the book?" Hence the necessity of telling the story – gently – in public . . .

In 1971, long before I found it necessary to warn Rabbi Berger strongly about the necessity of *going after* the Jewish-American masses and not be satisfied with easy and pleasant *ersatz* activities that pursue the line of least resistance, Rabbi Berger wrote to me persuasively, in the name of a young college instructor in political science, that he was anxious to have me write an Introduction to a proposed anthology, *Zionism and Israel, A Jewish Critic*, which the instructor was compiling, with hopes of having it published eventually.

When I received the young author's Table of Contents under his proposed title, it occured to me that, while I was not a particle interested in a pro and con anthology about Zionism, if I could persuade the young scholar to accept another title, *Jewish Critics of Zionism*, and if I could have him change radically his Table of Contents so as to confine it to strictly Jewish critics of Zionism who believe only in prophetic Judaism, we might be able to produce a fine original book which could serve the cause of justice to the victims of secular, "Jewish" political nationalism – the Arabs of the Middle East.

* The address is: University of California Extension Media Center, Berkeley, California 94720. For broadcasting rights contact: Mr. Colin Edwards, 6674 Colton Boulevard, Oakland, California 94611. I understand that the orders for the Menuhin Tapes are pouring in beyond all expectations.

The Table of Contents as proposed by the young author included a good number of anti-Zionists, but also many outright Zionists, some semi-Zionists and some questionable professional Jews who were just professional idealists, types I abhor. So I wrote to the young author about my ideas, and he seemed to respond most enthusiastically to all of my persuasive arguments and suggestions. However, I decided to first write the Introduction and submit it to my many friends as well as to the young author for critical review. Then, I decided that, if I did succeed exceptionally well in writing this Introduction to a book entitled *Jewish Critics of Zionism*, I would then take command of the enterprise and make my Introduction the core of the book, *Jewish Critics of Zionism*, add a few more worthy Jewish critics of Zionism whom my young editor ignored, and throw out from the Table of Contents all the Zionists, semi-Zionists, and just professional Jews who go with the wind in their anti-Zionist work or jobs.

The young editor was inspired and happy after he read my Introduction. Afterwards, he began to write to me more frequently, and always ended his letters with the words, "Please write to me soon . . ." I thus became his confidant, mentor and guide. I considered it dutiful for me to give the young man much of my precious time and energy. It was not an easy job, what with my many other duties and activities.

I told the young editor that if I was to be his mentor and see the book successfully published, he would have to throw out such writers as Professor Noam Chomsky (*Nationalism and Conflict in Palestine*); Uri Avnery (*The Establishment*); Rabbi Reichert and a few others who do not belong to the category of Ahad Ha'am, Buber, Cohen, Kohn, Zukerman, Magnes, etc. I also made my young editor include a remarkable article by one pseudonymous Israeli writer, Amitay Ben Yona, who wrote *What Does Israel Do With Its Palestinians*.

The enthusiasm of my many friends who have read my Introduction and who knew about my advice to the young editor about the Table of Contents as it must be (and the young editor happily accepted practically all of my suggestions) was such that plenty of funds were offered me to help the publication and promotion of the book. I suggested to the young man to get in touch with some publishers. I told him that in the case of our book, it was better by far to deal with a subsidy publisher because while they do have their own editors, they would not dare edit or change anything against our will in our text or table of contents.

Thus serious negotiations were conducted by the young editor in our name. There was one publisher in particular who was anxious to sign a deal. I, on my part, even made tentative arrangements with my bank in San Francisco to allow my friend, the young editor, to draw against the funds that I expected any day to be sent by my friends to my credit at the bank. I wanted to be sure that in case anything happened to me at my old age (I was quite ill with constant arthritic pains in my arms and neck) that my trusted young friend could go on carrying out the full understanding we had on all points: the book's contents, the business part of it, and the world-wide distribution and promotion of the book.

I was so sure of our final arrangements, that in my recording sessions with Colin Edwards I talked most faithfully and enthusiastically about the coming book, *Jewish Critics of Zionism*. I also assured all of my inquiring friends who wanted to know when and where they could buy copies of the new book that it wouldn't be long before it would be available in bookstores.

Here are just a few passages from letters I received from my young friend that tell much of the puzzling and sad story of the sudden destruction of a wonderful book that was ready for publication on April 5, 1972. On March 27, 1972 my young editor wrote me:

> Your introduction, I feel, is a wonderful great work which serves the book well. Your ideas and suggestions are always well received . . . I am perfectly capable of looking over the proofs on my own. If you wish, however, your Introduction in galley proof will be sent directly to you for scrutiny . . .

On March 24, 1972, he wrote to me:

> I have accepted several major revisions and additions which you rightly offered me. In fact, the final outline of the anthology is far from being what it originally began . . . I have struggled for over one year adding and deleting and arranging . . . I feel that *your* contribution in the introduction is the greatest contribution, Mr. Menuhin.

Thus, it was perfectly understood between us that while the official editor of the book *Jewish Critics of Zionism*, would be my young friend, my Introduction, plus perhaps also a reprint of an old article of mine, "The Stifling and Smearing of a Dissenter", were to be the core of the book.

Then, suddenly and unexpectedly, out of a blue sky, came the

following letter from my young editor, dated April 6, 1972 -- nine days after the one dated March 27, 1972:

> I have revised Part III. Avnery, though still remaining a Hebrew nationalist, a friend of the Israeli Army, a spokesman for what you might consider the 'Lebensraum' ideology, I added to the Table of Contents . . . The other change, and perhaps the most important, is the "Introduction" itself . . . I have searched and searched, literally pored over scores of political anthologies which I have in my library and in all cases the introduction is written by the editor.

I did not answer this letter . . . There was no doubt in my mind that the letter written to me on April 6, 1972 was an aberration, the result of misguidance and subversion . . .

Nearly a year passed during which I naturally decided to have my so-called "Introduction" published independently as a Testamentary Essay in view of the fact that I was nearing my 80th birthday. Rumors have reached me that the young editor was persuaded to have his anthology, *sans* my Introduction, published abroad. He signed an agreement, and hoped that eventually his book would also be published in the United States.

In March, 1973, nearly a year after the young editor's letter to me of April 6, 1972, I received a touching and appealing repentant letter from the young "editor". Here are a few revealing passages:

> If I had not felt any repentance or desire to apologize for past events I would not be writing to you at this point . . . I hope it is still not too late to act. I want your *Introduction* to the book. I will not 'reconstruct' it or change it. It will be left as it is. We will also add Dr. Shahak's piece and eliminate Avnery . . . I would like to work together with you on this project which is ready to be set in motion. My London publishers are working on obtaining a publisher in the U.S. If they cannot find one, then perhaps we can think of a subsidy press . . . I realize now that a weak book will be more of a pacification to Zionism than a book that stands up to it. And so, I come to you in repentance and shame to ask you for the last time to be a part of this endeavor. You have every right to be enraged at me . . . Your voice is needed, Mr. Menuhin. I hope you will reconsider.

My reaction was prompted along the lines of my conception of true Judaism: "In the place where repentant man stands, even the completely righteous man cannot stand." I asked the young editor to send me a copy of his new Table of Contents, to let me know of his new commitments

since we parted our ways, and to let me see his agreement with the foreign editor. I found out everything. I reached the sad conclusion that it was impossible for me to get entangled in the many missteps, commitments and agreements because they would serve badly the cause for which I worked. We had a number of exchanges of letters. The essence of my replies was this:

> There is an abyss between us . . . the things you have done; the commitments; the agreement you signed with a foreign publisher that specifies nothing to protect you and your book, nor does it guarantee the publication of the book in the U.S.A. – the principal goal of all of my efforts, work, and guidance of you – carries no guarantee against publisher's interference or editing; does not guarantee any advertising and promotion of the book; does not guarantee that if I let my Introduction be used by you, it will be left alone . . . our book, *Jewish Critics of Zionism*, its immediate publication, its guaranteed world-wide distribution and its indispensable advertising and promotion were destroyed when you threw me out, threw out Shahak, and filled up the void created with second-rate, so-called Jewish critics of Zionism.

There was no way left to undo the new mistakes. Justice to the book *Jewish Critics of Zionism* did not allow any solution. With great sorrow and heartfelt sympathy for the misguided young editor I could not collaborate now. It was too late – impossible – to do justice to the book. The best I could do was to have my Introduction published as an independent essay. I have taken advantage of the opportunity to revise and rewrite some parts of the Introduction.

May I conclude this essay with a few words from an exceptional Israeli Jew, Nathan Chofshi, whose declaration as a Jewish critic of Zionism in one small paragraph is worth more than volumes of some professional anti-Zionist Jews: *We came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees, and still we dare slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being deeply ashamed of what we did and trying to undo some of the evil we committed, we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them . . .*[18]

[18] The *Jewish Newsletter* of William Zukerman, February, 1959

The Stifling and Smearing of a Dissenter